THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ROUND TABLE

Woodrow Wilson: PROPHET or VISIONARY

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A Radio Discussion by

- AVERY CRAVEN
- MRS. LA FOLLETTE
- QUINCY WRIGHT

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

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Woodrow Wilson:
PROPHET or VISIONARY

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE

BROADCAST COAST TO COAST BY
THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1942, AT 1:30 P.M., C.W.T.

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MRS. PHILIP LA FOLLETTE, Madison, Wisconsin

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(*See page 19 for further information*)

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

Woodrow Wilson:
PROPHET or VISIONARY

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Many Americans today are discussing the peace that will follow this war. In any such discussion, the name of Woodrow Wilson, first World War President and author of the League of Nations, is naturally raised. What kind of a program did Wilson propose for world organization and the maintenance of peace? What was the background and the basis of the League of Nations?

If the United States had joined Wilson's League of Nations, would the second World War have been averted? After the close of this war, should the United States join an international organization, or should it follow an isolationist policy? What light do Woodrow Wilson's career and the history of the twenties throw upon this question?

To discuss these and other important questions, the ROUND TABLE *opened its microphones to three expert observers.*

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MR. CRAVEN: Tomorrow is the eighty-sixth anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's birth.

Today, as we wage another world war and face the problems of a new peace, it seems to me that the figure of this grim old southern Scotch Presbyterian looms larger than ever before, and his words gain new vitality.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I would agree with you. I think, however, that Woodrow Wilson is a very controversial figure, and as far as I am concerned one has to divide his career into the domestic problems and into the period when he went out with a program with which to organize the world.

Both of you gentlemen are ardent admirers and I think almost unqualified supporters of President Wilson. I belong to a group which makes a distinction between the progressive program that he enacted, or helped to enact, in this country and the program with which he went to organize the world.

MR. WRIGHT: Wilson is controversial today, but in my judgment he will become one of our great presidents. However that may be, the ghost of Woodrow Wilson walks again, although I'm not quite sure whether it's the ghost of Hamlet's father, urging a hesitant people to action, or Banquo's ghost, recalling to a remorseful people their sins.

MR. CRAVEN: It seems to me that before we enter into the larger question as to the division between Wilson's domestic and his foreign policy, it might be rather well for us to try to find out, if we possibly can, what Woodrow Wilson actually stood for and the validity of his position for us today. What do you think is the first of the great steps in Woodrow Wilson's program?

MR. WRIGHT: I think that he was *the* great democrat. He said that we must preserve democracy at home. In order to do so, we must make the world safe for democracy.[1]

MR. CRAVEN: When you say "make the world safe for democracy," do you mean that it is our business to propagate democracy everywhere in the world?

MR. WRIGHT: No. I think that he recognized a great distinction between making the world democratic and making the world safe for democracy. As I understand it, his opinion was that one cannot today localize wars. Consequently, unless conditions are set up to prevent war, democracy cannot be preserved anywhere.

MR. CRAVEN: You would agree with me, then, that Wilson was

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[1] "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty."—Message to Congress, April 2, 1917.

a great realist—a man who seemed to see that the world had become, through our industrialization and through our new technology, so closely linked together that if we are to preserve our democracy in our own country we have to be interested in making men free everywhere in the world or in giving the men who are free their chance to keep their freedom.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I don't agree with you on that. At least, I'd like to make a distinction. I don't question President Wilson's integrity, but as a realist I think one has to go back again to his program domestically as opposed to when he set out to reshape the world. I do not think that he was a realist from that point of view.

MR. CRAVEN: Certainly he is a decided realist in his belief in democracy and in his belief that if we do not do something about the matter of protecting free peoples in other corners of the world, we're going to get into trouble.

MR. WRIGHT: Wilson said that he "could predict, with absolute certainty, that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it."[2]

MR. CRAVEN: He also said, "I do not hesitate to say that the war we have just been through, though it was shot through with terror of every kind, is not to be compared with the war we would have to face the next time. . . . . What the Germans used were toys as compared with what would be used in the next war." Those are the words of a realist.[3]

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: There was general agreement, both among those who voted for the treaty and among those who were opposed to it, that we would inevitably have a war out of the Treaty of Versailles.

MR. WRIGHT: I think that there was a difference of opinion on

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[2] Woodrow Wilson, Omaha, September 8, 1919.

[3] Woodrow Wilson, San Diego, September 19, 1919.

that. There were some who thought that the reason we had this war was because the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations were not accepted, particularly by this country.

But I think that we should go back to the basic principles which made Wilson convinced that democracy at home had become an international question—that is, the shrinking world, the industrialization of modern war, which has made it impossible to prepare for effective war without interfering with the operations of democracy, and the invention of the airplane, which makes war spread so rapidly.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But, after all, the industrialization of the modern war had just as much to do in creating problems within each of the countries. From my point of view, the place that we have to begin is in handling the problems of industrialization within each one of our domestic fronts.

MR. CRAVEN: You think, in other words, that isolationism is possible in a modern, interdependent world?

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: It depends on what you mean by "isolationism." We've never tried it.

MR. CRAVEN: What do you mean by it, when you say we haven't tried it?

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I mean that every time a war has broken out, even though the people of the United States have expressed themselves in peacetime as to how they feel about entering a European war, always the leaders have fallen for the pressure that has taken us into a war.

MR. WRIGHT: I agree with you that there's always been a recognition by the public when war has approached that a policy of isolationism would not work. The public demanded that the isolationist Neutrality Act of 1935 be repealed, because they said that it would necessarily give aid to those countries that were attacking democracies in Europe and Asia.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But I don't think that the public did demand it. I think that the public didn't have a chance to make themselves felt on that. Whenever they have gone to vote, they have voted with great support of any kind of a program which would keep us out of war.

MR. CRAVEN: Perhaps the position, then, that you're taking is that the people in this country have always been isolationist in their attitude.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: They have been anti-war.

MR. WRIGHT: But they have also seen the necessities which impinged upon them when the crisis became very great.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: The leaders have felt those necessities.

MR. WRIGHT: In other words, I think that the people and the leaders have considered that isolationism is a noble but a visionary ideal and that when faced by the realities of conditions, particularly in our modern, interdependent world, they demand that something be done about such conditions.

MR. CRAVEN: Mrs. La Follette, I'd like to take direct issue with you in the matter of whether or not we have ever given isolationism a chance. It seems to me that in 1917 the United States did everything that a nation possibly could do to maintain its dignity and its position, but that ultimately it was not the decision of our leaders. It was rather the circumstances of a new world in which our relations were so interlinked with other peoples' that these affairs brought us inevitably into the conflict.[4]

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I think that that has been recognized as far as international cooperation is concerned. I think that in the past eight years, or even longer, again and again we have stepped out and held the responsibilities that we felt were ours.

But where we differ always is in the question of force.

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[4] See Charles Seymour, *American Neutrality: 1917*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

MR. WRIGHT: Let's pass to the second of Wilson's great ideals—his enthusiasm for individual freedom and national freedom. At one stage, he said that he was a "reckless enthusiast for liberty."[5] He felt that there should be liberty not only among the people of the United States but among all the people of the world.

MR. CRAVEN: Isn't that simply saying that our safety has become so linked with the safety of all free peoples that it's impossible for us, within our nation, to have these things unless, to a certain extent, we are able to guarantee them to the free peoples elsewhere in the world?

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But doesn't that mean, after all, the free people within the British Empire and within Russia and within these various controversial countries? Who are we to go out and to decide the problems within those countries, if it's going to bring us into conflict with some of our Allies today?

MR. WRIGHT: Isn't that the problem which has become very notable in recent times? We have found that the problem of the freedom of people in India is a matter of great interest to us, but even more we have found that the freedom of the people in Germany is of great interest.

We have come to recognize that aggression begins with the suppression of freedoms—that Hitler set up his tyrannical regime and, after that, it became an aggressive regime, which was a danger to all democracies.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But doesn't that overlook entirely the economic rehabilitation of Europe, which goes back to the last treaty? Professor John Maynard Keynes, the distinguished British economist, pointed out at the time that in the framing of the peace treaty there was no consideration given to this important problem. When

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[5] "There is one thing I have a great enthusiasm about, I might almost say a reckless enthusiasm, and that is human liberty."—Wilson, Indianapolis, January 8, 1915.

Hitler came along, he dramatized the picture. He told the German people that they could have either freedom or bread.

MR. CRAVEN: It seems to me that that is neither here nor there in the larger problem. It seems to me that if the people of Germany and the people of Russia and the peoples of India, or the minority peoples anywhere, have been oppressed, we have learned—and Wilson emphasized it—that that is a matter that is of our business. We are inevitably getting into world struggles and conflicts. Our own domestic programs are being held back because we've had to take recognition of the difficulties that arose out of these problems.[6]

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But you will agree, then, that you're going to cut out or include the peoples within the British Empire?

MR. CRAVEN: I'm going to include all peoples in the world and insist that, unless we take an interest in the well-being of minority groups inside of all of the nations—perhaps not to use force as you say, but to give them their rights—unless we recognize that it is our business and that we must exercise our influence to protect freedom everywhere, we're going to find that we're unable to protect our freedom at home.

MR. WRIGHT: This raises the important question of the possible conflict between national self-determination, which was also an ideal of Wilson's, and the preservation of individual freedom.

It might seem—and I think that it's true—that complete national self-determination might be a freedom to oppress individuals within the state's jurisdiction. That, however, it seems to me, is pushing national self-determination too far. The world must step in and say that national cultures should be able to develop independently, but they must not be allowed to oppress nationals within.

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[6] "Nothing, I venture to say, is more likely to disturb the peace of the world, than the treatment which might in certain circumstances be meted out to minorities."—Wilson, Paris, May 31, 1919.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: When you say the "world" should step in, that's a big statement. Who is going to make this decision?

MR. WRIGHT: That's a problem of world organization which we'll come to presently.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: Is the organization just going to automatically operate without any people to operate it?

MR. WRIGHT: Before we take that up, let's pass to the question of freedom of trade. President Wilson was also a great advocate of free international trade, and he recognized what John Maynard Keynes recognized, that if you compartmentalize the world into numerous self-sufficient national units, the strains on national frontiers will be too great and aggression is certain to occur.

MR. CRAVEN: I'm quite of the opinion that Wilson always held that we have to have a free world as far as trade is concerned. He stated it over and over again.

He spoke, also, for the self-determination of all peoples. I like his statement, "Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

It seems to me that as far as choice is concerned, we have not had our choices. We did not choose this war; the Japs chose it for us. The people may have wanted peace, and they may have wanted isolation, but we got war because the world conditions were such—and we had permitted conditions to thus develop in corners of the world—that we could not avoid the disturbance which arose from those facts.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But there again we come to our point of difference. You think that you can get at the root of all these difficulties that lead to war by creating a superstructure at the top.

According to my reading of the situation of the last twenty years, we've begun at the wrong end. We ought to take care of these concrete problems, such, for instance, as international trade. But how

are we to take the leadership there, as we have in the past, and push the thing farther when we aren't sure of the agreements that have been made and of the basis and the good faith of our Allies on that question?

For instance, how are you going to trust Great Britain and France on tariff policy, when after the last war they turned down Republican Germany? It seems to me that they will have to show us good faith first. I very much hope that President Roosevelt is not going to follow Wilson's example on this point when he expressed the feeling to Clemenceau during the last peace conference, that "the people have taken much from me; they'll take this, too."

MR. WRIGHT: On the question of tariffs it seems to me there's a very good reason for the United States' taking the initiative.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: Why?

MR. WRIGHT: In the first place, we have been the worst sinner. We have had the highest protective tariff, and the other countries have been more willing to go along with us on the basis of agreements than we have with them, toward substantial diminutions of tariff.

Secondly, we control 40 per cent of the world's production and of the world's markets. Therefore, if we take a lead in dramatically lowering our tariffs, the other countries will have such a tremendous interest that they will follow along.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I can't agree with consigning American people to the role of sinners because they didn't agree with one specific form of organization.

MR. WRIGHT: On the matter of tariffs, I'm saying we've been a great protective country.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: Yes, that's been true in the past, but in this period every country is going to be working probably more and more toward autocracy. We've been forced into it as a part of the European war. We've been cut off from the rubber supply. As far

as tariffs are concerned, I don't think that we're in a position to know what our own situation is going to be at the end of the war. Before I step any farther, I'd like to see the European nations show some effort of good faith.

MR. CRAVEN: We all want good faith from our Allies. We'd even like good faith from our enemies. But Woodrow Wilson stood for the fact that the world has changed.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: We all agree to that.

MR. CRAVEN: We have become interdependent to a larger degree. He believed in democracy and that democracy must have its chance. He had reached the conclusion with the interdependent condition in the world that if democracy was to be safe in our own country we must, somehow or other, make it safe for free peoples everywhere in the world. He believed that the steps in that direction had to come certainly at least by beginning to have freer international trade—to drop our barriers. If any nation were in a position to take the leadership, it should be the United States. That at least is Wilson's position, is it not?

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: That's Wilson's position.

MR. CRAVEN: What does that all mean for us in effective world organization? Does it have any relation? Does Wilson have any relationship to the problems that we now face in our present-day world? What kind of an organization do you think is possible? Shall we follow the Wilson program, or shall we depart completely from it?

MR. WRIGHT: I think that we have to follow the Wilson program. I haven't seen any effective alternatives that we might consider in the proposals which have been made.

We had, during the Nineteenth Century, a situation of balance of power in which power politics controlled the international situation. On the whole, eventually, the operation of that system did

prevent the gaining of dominance over the whole world by any one power.

MR. CRAVEN: But it also in the end broke down completely and led to a great world war and then to another one.

MR. WRIGHT: Precisely.

MR. CRAVEN: We've also had something else. We've had a good deal of voluntary cooperation, haven't we?

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: We've had a great deal of voluntary cooperation. Again I think that the United States has taken the lead in many ways when called upon by Europe to help out in her problems?

MR. CRAVEN: We would be interested, Mrs. La Follette, in knowing what program you suggest. Would you accept the *status quo*, or the balance of power that Mr. Wright has spoken of, or completely voluntary cooperation?

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: Frankly, I don't feel that this is the moment for anybody to try to lay down a hard and fast blueprint. I think that there are changes taking place within this country and all over the world. War is revolution, and people are conscious of that. I think that when the soldiers come back from the various four corners of the earth on which they have been fighting they're going to have some very strong opinions and some force in promoting the kind of an international policy that we will have.

But as far as I'm concerned, I would like to see a regional organization in so far as the United States is concerned. I'd like to define the limits of our responsibility. At the moment it seems to me that we have to confine those to our own hemisphere. For one reason: I think, as the distinguished Justice Brandeis put it, that there is a law of diminishing returns in size and that any executive will tell you that if you build an organization beyond a certain point, it becomes inefficient. I think that we're feeling that today.

The only reason that I'm asked to take part in this program is

that I represent a certain point of view. I think that the people of this country are feeling this problem of size—that the gap, for instance, between Washington and the localities is a very serious administrative problem. For instance, what the Selective Service Board tries in Washington and the way it's interpreted out in each local draft board makes people feel that it's a very serious matter to take on world organization when we have so many difficulties in our own organization.

MR. WRIGHT: But we're faced by a condition and not by a theory—that the war is spread over the world as a whole. We have witnessed that at Pearl Harbor. We have witnessed it on the Atlantic front. Consequently, if we're going to have an organization that can control war, it must be world-wide.

MR. CRAVEN: I agree with that. It seems to me that voluntary cooperation was all right to try. We've tried it and I see no reason why we shouldn't continue to try it. It seems to me that regional organization is something that we're trying in the Good Neighbor policy.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I think that the New Deal has done a splendid job in creating friendship and understanding between the countries of this hemisphere.

MR. CRAVEN: But I think that we have to recognize the fact that after all both of those things are not positive steps and that, because we did not take positive steps, we are in another war soon after our first war.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: That is your interpretation?

MR. CRAVEN: That is my interpretation. Unless we take some definite steps to do more than we did last time, we're going to find ourselves living only to fight another war in another generation. That I would avoid by any step possible.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: Including a police force?

MR. CRAVEN: I would start perhaps with the League of Nations. I'd give it a chance. My notion is that it never had a chance.

MR. WRIGHT: I believe that the League of Nations was lacking in the force that it should have had. I recall that Frank Simons said after the Peace Conference that the League of Nations would not work because it didn't have a real police force. I am convinced that the American people today would be willing to enter a League of Nations that had a genuine police force behind it, able to actually prevent war.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: Do you feel that you can say to these men that are fighting on all fronts and have gone out to carry the Four Freedoms to the ends of the earth, when they come back, "I'm sorry, but you will have to start out and go and preserve this peace for the rest of your lives"?

MR. WRIGHT: No, I certainly would not say that. I would say that the League of Nations should be established. It should have under it a police force, which is constituted by volunteers from all the countries of the world. It would not have to be a very large force.[7]

MR. CRAVEN: I don't think that it would be imposing on anyone any sort of an unpleasant job to take up the work of policing the world and trying to make it a decent world to avoid war. We've tried the other thing; and they are out fighting. They are fighting all around the globe. They've been sent to all these places. We didn't avoid sending men out to defend our rights—didn't avoid sending them to the corners of the world—by the old program. It seems to me that if we're going to have a new day we're going to have to take new steps and that those steps are certainly along the

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[7] "Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it."—Wilson, Message to the Senate, January 22, 1917.

line of somebody's taking the responsibility of using force where force has to be used.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But the steps that we are advocating, or that are being advocated, demand that they be carried out by definite people, and they're going to mean that these men have to carry the commitments out that we're talking about making.

MR. CRAVEN: Why certainly. If you're going to carry out a program, somebody has to carry it out. My suggestion is some sort of an international body. I would consider it an honor to serve on an international body of that kind. I would not consider it a burden. I consider it far more practical to go out and serve in an organization for the keeping of the peace of the world than to have to be called upon by conscription every generation to go out and fight in the army to restore the order that's been destroyed.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: That's all very well for us sitting here comfortably in this warm room this afternoon. But it's quite a different thing if you're out in the swamps of New Guinea or in the various other fronts of the world.

MR. CRAVEN: Do you think that it is more uncomfortable in the swamps of New Guinea right now than it would be, for instance, to go out on some sort of an international job years later—a smaller job, equipped with the machinery of modern warfare—to restore peace?

I would say that in our program we ought to at least take away from the nations the armaments of the modern sort; give those of the airplane and of the tank and so forth only to our effective military force. That group could be small. Their job would be incomparably easier than the job that our boys are being asked right now to carry out.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: That's perfectly true—that it would be easier theoretically—but I'm afraid that the way the thing is shaping up now that each government is going to feel that it must have an

organization. Ours is talking in terms of ten million soldiers, and I think that we are assuming again that we can write blueprints which are going to have to be carried out by someone else.

MR. WRIGHT: Let's get back to Wilson. I agree with him when he said, "The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power."[8]

Let's get to the question of whether Wilson, when he made that statement, was a visionary or a prophet.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I would suggest that the two of you—one of you being an eminent historian and the other being an eminent international lawyer—give us what you consider to be outstanding points in his earlier program.

MR. CRAVEN: I'll state my own position there: In the first place, I think as far as his domestic program was concerned, his pan-American program was concerned, he was definitely a prophet, not a visionary.[9]

MR. WRIGHT: He had a remarkable domestic program. He put through the Underwood Tariff, the Clayton Act, the Income Tax Act, the Federal Reserve Act. No American President was more effective in that way.[10]

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[8] Wilson, Message to the Russian Government, June 8, 1917.

[9] ". . . . The United States has nothing to seek in Central and South America except the best interests of the peoples of the two continents, the security of governments intended for the people and for no special group or interest, and the development of personal and trade relationships between the two continents."—Wilson, Washington, D.C., March 11, 1913.

[10] The Clayton Anti-Trust Act was passed on Oct. 15, 1914, and served to supplement the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. The act was intended to add power and strength to the earlier measure by prohibiting certain corporate practices which it named specifically. For instance, it forbade price discrimination where its effect lessens competition; forbade interlocking directorates; and so

MR. CRAVEN: He was the founder of the Good Neighbor policy in South America and in Mexico. Those are the work of a prophet and not of a visionary.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But it is when we come to the international field that we have this very definite difference of opinion, because I will concede that where he worked and used his idealism toward ends that he knew, he accomplished a splendid program; but when he got out into an uncharted sea, he found the water too deep.

MR. WRIGHT: We must recall that Wilson is hailed in Europe and in the world as the founder of the League of Nations. It's true that he lost in the United States, but he lost by virtue of a clever political manipulation, during which the majority of the people were in favor of the League and of the Treaty.[11]

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I won't agree on that.

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on. It also made a special exception of labor unions, declaring that labor is not a commodity. The Underwood Tariff, passed Oct., 1913, made a deep cut in the tariff rates by reducing the average on all dutiable imports from thirty-seven per cent to twenty-seven per cent.

[11] ". . . . At all times during the prolonged debate over the Treaty more than three-fourths of the members of the Senate were ready to accept membership in the League in some form or other."—*The Growth of the American Republic*, Morison & Commager, Vol. II, p. 494.

"When President Wilson laid the treaties before the Senate, July 10, 1919, there were four distinct groups on the League issue: (1) an all-out pro-treaty group consisting of 43 Wilsonian Democrats and 1 Republican (McCumber, N. D.); (2) a group of 15 Republican 'mild reservationists,' ranging from Frank Kellogg of Minnesota, later Secretary of State, to Charles McNary, Oregon, present minority leader, also supporting ratification with safeguards; (3) a group of 20 Republicans led by Lodge, of Massachusetts, favoring ratification with 'strong' reservations; and finally, a group of bitter-end 'irreconcilables,' representing about 12 Republicans and 3 Democrats, led by Senator Borah, who opposed ratification under any circumstances.

"The pro-League Democrats had enough votes to reject reservations requiring action by other League countries; the "mild reservationist" but pro-League Republicans had enough votes to reject the League unless qualifications were attached. This deadlock killed the League."—Richard L. Strout, "How the Senate Scuttled the Peace Ship," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 4, 1942.

MR. WRIGHT: It is the case that only fourteen Senators were against the League.

MR. CRAVEN: We'll have to disagree as to the responsibility there.

What does this all lead us to? What do you think is the major question that the United States will have to decide in determining whether or not to join a world organization after the war? That will help us to decide Wilson's tactics.

MR. WRIGHT: I think that we should make the world safe for democracy, and that means that we must lead in a general lowering of trade barriers; we must lead in establishing the Four Freedoms throughout the world, in establishing a world organization for security and peaceful change, with a definite police force.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: I think that the great challenge for America is to meet her problems here on the home front first and that she can do more by making democracy work here in America than she can by trying to spread it thin all over the world.

MR. CRAVEN: I agree that we must make democracy work at home.

MRS. LA FOLLETTE: But not by force.

MR. CRAVEN: I believe, however, that if we're going to make democracy work at home we've got to remember that our programs for domestic work have been interfered with every time by an international struggle.

We must, to preserve our democracy at home, do something about the matter of freedom in the rest of the world.

We must remember that the world has become our whole neighborhood and that what happens, as Woodrow Wilson said, in other corners of the world is of importance to us and our freedom.

Around the Round Table . . . .

AVERY O. CRAVEN, born in 1886 in North Carolina and educated at Simpson College (Iowa), Harvard University, and the University of Chicago, is an incisive and hardheaded analyst of democracy. Before joining the faculty on Chicago's Midway, he had taught at the College of Emporia, Michigan State College, and the University of Illinois. In history his field of specialization has been the study of the South and West and particularly of the Civil War. In addition, Dr. Craven is an expert on conservation and soil problems. He was president of the American Agricultural Society in 1930 and in recent years has been a lecturer for the United States Department of Agriculture.

MRS. PHILIP LA FOLLETTE, who is the wife of Major Philip La Follette, the former governor of Wisconsin and son of "Fighting Bob" La Follette, has herself been active in politics and in the work of the Progressive party in Wisconsin. At the present time she is associate editor of the *Progressive Magazine*. Born in West Medford, Massachusetts, she grew up in Utah as the daughter of a civil engineer. Mrs. La Follette was granted her A.B. degree at the University of Wisconsin. She has traveled extensively in Europe and South America.

QUINCY WRIGHT, professor of international law at the University of Chicago, received his undergraduate training at Lombard College and was granted his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Illinois. Before coming to the University of Chicago, he taught political science at Harvard University and the University of Minnesota. In 1918 and 1921 he served as a special assistant on international law to the United States Navy Department. He is a member of the board of editors of the *American Journal of International Law* and the author of many books on international relations, among which are: *Enforcement of International Law through Municipal Law in the United States* (1916); *Control of American Foreign Relations* (1922); *Mandates under the League of Nations* (1930); *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace* (1935); and the recent authoritative two-volume work, *A Study of War* (1942).

PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY

Address of President Wilson to the United States Senate January 22, 1917

". . . . It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise [to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations]. . . . . They cannot in honor withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

"That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

"The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. . . . .

"No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments. . . . . The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? . . . . Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

"Fortunately we have reached very explicit assurances on this point. . . . . They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my

own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of social and national allegiance.

"The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be on equality of rights; . . . .

"I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world. . . . .

"I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power. . . . . There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. . . . .

"I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence. . . . ."

WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

Address to Congress, January 8, 1918

". . . . We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The

program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

"I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

"II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

"III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

"IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

"V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of all the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

"VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

"VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

"VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly

fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

"IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

"X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

"XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

"XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

"XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

"XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

"In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end. . . . ."

THE FIVE POINTS

From an Address by President Wilson at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, September 27, 1918

I. The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

II. No special or separate interests of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

III. There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

IV. And more specifically—there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

V. All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

The ROUND TABLE recently received these special awards:

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE HAS BEEN SELECTED BY THE RADIO EDITORS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA IN THE ANNUAL POLL CONDUCTED BY "MOTION PICTURE DAILY" FOR FAME FOR ONE OF THE FIRST PLACES IN THE BEST EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM CLASSIFICATION. CONGRATULATIONS.—*Telegram from* NELSON ROWLEY FAME, *December 1, 1942.*

CONGRATULATIONS FOR WINNING THE TOP PLACE IN THE OUTSTANDING FORUM PROGRAMS IN THE "PLAIN DEALER" RADIO POLL FOR 1942.—*Received November 25, 1942, from* ROBERT STEPHAN, *Radio Editor of the "Cleveland Plain Dealer."*

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———, *A Study of War.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. *Mr. Wright states the following as some of the essential elements for a just and stable peace:* "Qualitative and quantitative disarmament, reducing the power of rapid attack; development of procedures authorizing provisional measures with respect to military movements; development of the theory that aggressions are acts of governments, not of states, that sanctions should be directed only against governments and those elements of the population which support them; more effective use of propaganda to unify the forces of world order and to disunite the population subject to the aggressor government; immediate and general embargoes of all war materials destined for the use of the aggressor government and perhaps eventual establishment of a world police, monopolizing control of bombing planes, are steps which together might render aggression impracticable."

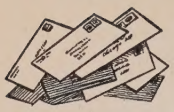
WHAT DO YOU THINK?

1. What is your opinion of the place of Woodrow Wilson in American history? Would you agree with some who said that he stayed out of the war too long, that he was a dangerous radical and a menace to capitalism, and that his talk about making the world safe for democracy was dangerous nonsense? Discuss.

2. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was a leading opponent of joining the League of Nations. He argued that the essence of American foreign policy should be to keep the country clear of foreign entanglements unless American honor was involved, and when the fight was over, to disentangle ourselves once more, stand aloof, and mind our own business. He said that the Covenant of the League gave "other powers" the right "to call out American troops and American ships to any part of the world," and he said in regard to joining the League: "We would not have our politics distracted and embittered by the dissensions of other lands. We would not have our country's vigor exhausted, or her moral force abated, by everlasting meddling and muddling in every quarrel, great and small, which afflicts the world." How valid do you think his objections were and are today?

3. Do you think that the United States should fight to make the world safe for democracy? Is it desirable to establish some form of organized international association after the war to insure maintenance of the peace?

4. Do you think the events since the first World War have proved that Wilson was right or wrong in his belief that the United States should join an international organization to promote peace and security? Why?



THE PEOPLE SAY—

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE audience on "Social Security: Challenge to Democracy" broadcast December 20, 1942.

*

Need Health and Education Provisions—

". . . . It is high time that hospital treatment and medication be placed on the free list. . . . . A system should be devised whereby the child becomes the ward of the nation and is assured under any circumstances, the opportunity of obtaining the highest education the land affords, at public expense. An *entirely* new social system may not be necessary to accomplish the foregoing but the present system would certainly have to be supplimented [*sic*]. . . . ." From Glendora, California.

*

Necessary but Not Desirable—

". . . . A social security program may be necessary but never desirable. Only the aged and indigent should be supported by social security. Free education should not be hampered by the necessary employment of the young to support the old. Socialized medicine, for example, would destroy individual initiative and would retard the advancement of the profession through research; the indigent have been adequately treated in public-supported institutions which should be expanded to include more extensive education in sanitation, birth control, and the control of social diseases. . . . ." From Dallas, Texas.

*

The Decline of the West—

". . . . To all intents and purposes, the Beveridge Report is part of a demagogic conspiracy to divert the public from giving any realistic consideration to causes as against symptoms. It is a sop thrown to the desperate to keep them from domestic violence when the futilities of war again have become obvious. It is, indeed, a scheme of things which, far from being new, was tried, and failed as it always must in the end, in Rome. It foreshadows the Decline of the West." From Bethesda, Maryland.

CHANGE OF TIME!

Beginning Sunday, January 10, 1942

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How Science May Shape the Next Twenty-five Years

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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JANUARY 3, 1943

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RALPH W. GERARD, Department of Physiology, University of Chicago

WILLIAM F. OGBURN, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago

GERALD L. WENDT, Science Editor of *Time*; formerly of the University of Chicago.

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[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]